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L E T T E R

TO THE

Stuart (John)

E A R L of B U T E.



L O N D O N :

Printed for the A U T H O R,
And Sold by J. ALMON in Piccadilly.

1771.

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LETTER

TO THE

BAR OF BUTE

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A

L E T T E R, &c.

MY LORD,

THE inhabitants of England have learned to consider your approach to this island, as the approach of a comet, foreboding calamities of some kind or other; nor can they separate the idea of evil from the name of Bute; your influence, like the influence of that glaring phenomenon, although concealed, is certain; you also have your perihelion, your stated times of getting near his Majesty, whom, without political

B idolatry,

idolatry, I will call the Sun, or the active principle of our constitution: but without *either* simile, metaphor, or allegory, I shall always remain persuaded, that you have been the cause of all our internal commotions; that you tempted the woman to destroy not only her own peace, but the tranquility of this once happy country; a foreigner, unacquainted with our laws, manners, constitution, the thought of subverting such a government could never have spontaneously entered into her mind: schemes of this enormous size do not belong to women; they are not the original devisers of such over-grown mischiefs; they are first misled themselves, and then indeed are wondrous capable of misleading others: you, my Lord, have been that wiley seducer, you the culprit of the public, and against you did I always wish to see the vengeance of the people, the justice of the laws directly and immediately pointed.

By

By a masterly dissimulation, deep researches into the frailties of the human heart, a thorough knowledge of those men, in the court of your former master, who were the destined instruments of your intended work; a train of study and a bent of inclination, which qualify most consummately, for converting the passions of *a* people to their own destruction; *by these*, I say, you appear the most capable of changing our free constitution into an absolute monarchy, of any favourite who hath hitherto made the attempt. The vanity of Strafford led him to prefer an active display of his great and shining abilities, to the more covert but slow accomplishment of his purposes: he had too much political rashness for so difficult a task: he aimed by open force to batter down that constitution, which you are about to destroy, by sily undermining it; he failed,

and, I fear, your Lordship will succeed.

As it is the duty of every good member of the community to obstruct, so far as his strength will extend, this wicked design; drawn by that first and strongest obligation, I shall endeavour to developé your scheme, to delineate, if possible, that shapeless monster called a ministry, with which you work, *and leave* to a more able pencil the task of colouring it up to its native ugliness.

You had long beheld, with envy and vexation, his late Majesty, governing the British empire with that mild, and liberal spirit, which animated the Revolution Settlement. It was perfectly suited to the just and modest sense of those obligations, which a grateful Prince must feel to a nation, who called his family from comparative obscurity to the possession of a throne, the most illustrious
in

in Christendom. Tories could have no pretensions to any trust, in administering the affairs of an establishment, founded upon Revolution Principles, in direct opposition to their utmost endeavours, *and* upon the principles of liberty, which they were ever labouring to overthrow. The executive part was an important charge, and none more proper for the trust of its several offices and employments, than the whigs, who had brought about the Hanover succession, and whose great possessions, and merited popularity, had rendered them respected, beloved and confided in by the people; from a thorough knowledge of the genius of their fellow-subjects, they well knew, that a limited monarchy was best calculated to produce their solid happiness; they had attention to the mixt nature of our constitution, and whilst they preserved a most sacred regard to the legal rights of the crown,

crown, never lost sight of that which is due to the good opinion of a free people : so that in the executive departments of government, although not properly within the controul of the subject, he, nevertheless, saw, with pleasure, his approbation sought for, and his satisfaction consulted ; at home, all but the inveterate foes of liberty were contented ; abroad, our negotiations were effective, our wars were just, successful, glorious, and, in general, concluded with advantage to the kingdom, in spite of the obstruction of tories and Jacobites. As for the rebellions in the two last reigns, with which I am aware of being upbraided, they cannot with justice be charged to the body of the nation, because they were fomented, and carried on by the ancestors and adherents of those men, who, to their own amazement, and that the of whole world

world are now in full possession of all the confidence of government.

To this popular, easy, and natural plan, by an influence most unaccountably obtained, you have substituted one, new, intricate, and intolerably expensive, because it must be supported by corruption; you rule without any regard whatsoever to the favourable judgment of the people; you treat those, even whom you employ, with contempt (your own immediate *dependents* excepted,) who serving without affection to the cause, and having no object but that of profit, come excessively dear; employed although despised, they know it but will not feel it; contented with the perquisites of office, they leave the power and respect, which should follow, to those spies, by whom they are perpetually surrounded.

But to enter more minutely into your system. Although luxury and dissipation had, for many years, opened

ed every avenue to corruption in this country, and our constitution, like a body given up to bad habits, had a strong predisposition to disorder, yet nothing but your Lordship's knowledge of intrigue, supported by prerogative, could have given success to that system, which I am now going to explain :—government, as I said before, was in the hands of men, who had a tenderness for the governed; they wished not to raise that predisposition into actual disorder; although our health was imperfect, we were free from pain, and not without hopes of recovery.

You found the leading interest in the nation closely united in carrying on a glorious war in every quarter of the world; even the tories and Jacobites, were, by the transcendent talents of the *great Minister*, drawn into this union, at least in *appearance*; they could not, they dared not, they despaired of being able, to
disturb

disturb it: in order to accomplish your designs, a dissolution of this compacted body was to be effected. The Tories and Jacobites, beheld with pleasure your elevation to the place of Favourite; they immediately acknowledged *their minister*, and trooped in crowds to your standard; the Whigs, not entirely free from jealousies of each other, and touched with the contagion of the times, were found more difficult to be brought over; you had long studied all their characters, classed them under their several heads, and very naturally made your first attack upon that body, which you supposed the most weak.—The D. of B. descended from ancestors, whose zeal for the liberties of their country had been eminent, of great property, and stung with jealousy at the high place which the old D. of N. had enjoyed in the late King's favour, appeared the fairest object;

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his political principles were originally whiggish, but his Duchess, of a family remarkably addicted to principles of an opposite nature, had by an address, through which she entirely ruled him, totally effaced those of her husband, and a taste for gaming and other fashionable dissipations, had thrown open his doors to a set of men, the most profligate and abandoned of the age; out of these the suite of his grace was formed; these were the D. of B.'s friends; they are now emphatically called the Bloomsbury gang; and it would be extraordinary that the leader of such a party should retain any delicacy dangerous to your attempt, or that could discourage your Lordship from opening, without ceremony, a corrupt intercourse with him; you saw, you tried, you succeeded. Was it not for the amazing turn of British politics, R—, the most active person of this gang, would

would, by obscurity of birth and meanness of capacity, be secured from public animadversion; the public eye, not formed for the contemplation of insects, rests not a moment upon such objects; but bloated by the intemperance of the times to a portentous size, the mad torrent of corruption hath thrown him up. R—the privy counsellor, paymaster of the British forces; R—, bubbling the nation in his office at Whitehall, in spite of nature, acquires importance, and must be distinguished. Your Lordship must see how discouraging to all honourable and virtuous pursuits it is, to see such a man erected into a patron; how puzzling to a mind, however so well reconciled to the scheme of providence, to behold any thing, to which the Almighty is supposed to extend his care, committed to so blind, and to so base a direction.

You were not entirely unacquainted with the Devonshire part of the whigs ; but you knew the compendious method of securing the leader, and his party of course, was here impracticable ; his honour, and high spirit were insurmountable obstacles ; so you resolved to give such a shock to those virtues which you despaired to conquer, as should drive the worthy possessor from the royal presence. You procured, my Lord, such a cruel affront for his grace, as answered your purposes more fully than you perhaps at first intended, by producing, not only, a resignation of his employment, but by causing the death of that noble and upright patriot. The chief thus cruelly taken off, you found no difficulty to enlist the wretched individuals, who attended his prosperity. As for the petty factions of Lord Shelburne, &c. you never honoured them with any great attention ; you may have
them

them by *individuals*, whenever it is agreeable; by retail, if not by whole-sale; and you know how to make the proper use of them.—Your own select friends, my Lord, who crowded so early to your standard I must not omit; formed of old tories and Jacobites of the last reign, these are vain enough to call themselves the King's friends; friends to a King of the House of Hanover: but they are, in reality, the faithful friends of your Lordship; the pillars of your administration; and I shall, for distinction, call them the prætorian band of the Earl of Bute. The whigs thus divided, your engine of government was at length erected; complicated and perplexed indeed, as every engine must be where faction is the first mover, and where the minister works by party. How you play off this engine shall be my next inquiry.

At

At the head of your prætorian band, you, my Lord, hold the balance of government, and take into employment some one of these mercenary bodies, composed of the whig revolvers, which ever you like best for the time; but to enforce a servile attention to your will and pleasure, and that they may have the terrors of being dismissed eternally before their eyes, another body of these mercenaries are kept constantly in their fight, gaping for their offices, in an attitude of *grasping*, and ready to bound into their places. As to any exercise of the duties of the employment, these men are merely nominal; they are quite restricted in those essentials, which are most valued by any man who regards his own importance, or the service of his country; because the power of appointing those who act under him, is reserved either for Mr. Bradshaw, or Mr. Jenkinson,
or

or some other of the prætorian band. By this means every great officer is no better than a mere cypher with a salary, and has no more to do with administration than a superannuated pensioner. The respect and consideration belonging to the several offices granted to the *mercenaries*, being totally engrossed by the *prætorians*, the consequence must be, that the whole official influence of the nation, so powerful in our elections, does finally center in your Lordship; and through this you must ever command a great majority in the lower House. *This* is worse than a *total* annihilation of one branch of legislature, because it throws the whole weight of that branch into the scale of the crown. However, your Lordship is too wise to abolish forms; you still preserve the appearance of an House of Commons. It was by a strict observation of forms that Tiberius

rius compleated the ruin of Roman liberty—*cuncta per consules incipiebat, tanquam vetere republicâ.*—

To confirm what is here alledged, let us cast our eyes upon the contemptible Viceroy of a neighbouring kingdom; who, until your Lordship sent your son in law to be his legate, had not the disposal of one employment; the treasury here, and of consequence the minister, had drawn into its vortex the *collections* of the whole island. The power of bribing is revived; it is intrusted to Sir George. And you have at length obtained a powerful majority in their parliament. That shadow of a viceroy, hath left the old contest, between the weakness of his head, and depravity of his heart, still more perplexed and undecided. He would persuade us, that his labours have been applied in breaking the aristocratic confederacy of that kingdom; their parliament

ment was prorogued, and the whole time of the prorogation, employed in the seduction of that shallow apostate Lord L——, who was worked up, at last, to a breach of every honourable tye, and of every moral obligation; it could not be his capacity, of which the viceroy desired to avail himself; no, my Lord, some ten or a dozen members crawling in his train, were the object of a tedious negotiation, which suspended the whole parliamentary business of that kingdom; the aristocratic power, therefore, was not displeasing, provided that power did but answer the purposes of corruption, because he courted it in L——, whilst he was endeavouring to destroy it in Shannon and in Ponsonby; here, my Lord, you see this awkward juggler detected; the impostor starts up confessed, but thanks to his matchless impudence, neither ashamed nor con-

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founded—

founded—the travelled and consummate statesman Sir George, carried over the budget, crammed indeed with scraps, which he knew to be good enough for the hungry groupe, who waited only for the certainty of being fed; his faith, previously plighted, as a security for the promises of Lord Townshend, was absolutely necessary, because his Lordship's most solemn engagements, from the first moment of being entered into, were well known to contain the rotten, deceitful seeds of non-performance and of disappointment; Sir George's credit, therefore, as it often happens in common life, was better than his master's; however, a wanton display of his courage against Mr. Flood, who had the misfortune, some time ago, of killing Mr. Agar in a duel, and that display made in the presence of a full house and of a crowded gallery, hath not proved to the world any excess.

cess of true courage in him, and induces, rather, a suspicion of his having no objection to an interposition of as many friends, as possible, upon these disagreeable occasions: such indeed is the present uncontrollable strength of his interest and connections, that no mode of behaviour, although never so insolent or imprudent, can affect him; it must, nevertheless, be galling to a people, who have had the reputation of high spirit, to see themselves governed in this manner, by the grandson of an *itinerant retailer of linnens*, who hath no visible merit, but *that of being the son in law of Lord Bute*—You may then be justly charged with having robbed the gentlemen of that kingdom of those employments, which the richness of their country produces, and of having converted them, towards bribing away every shadow of virtue in this nation; you have left no-

thing for them, but the *petites douleurs*, and yet by these are they prevailed upon to raise their parricide hands, against the laws and constitution of their country. — Mr. Wilkes, my Lord, a gentleman, a man of parts, and of education, but wanting in that northern economy, which makes the most of every endowment of mind, and every gift of fortune, for having only ridiculed a nation, was very near being murdered by the two enraged Scots, *Forbes and Dunn*. Your injuries to the *Irish*, are of a more substantial nature, and you still continue to increase them; beware, my Lord, of starving a whole people into desperation; they know how, from the banks of the Tweed, you descended upon England, the son of a beggarly peer, superior in nothing to the man you persecute, but in a *name and family*, which every protestant

tant of that island sincerely detests;
 the Roman Catholics can be no
 longer your dupes, for they are con-
 vinced, that notwithstanding the
 hopes given them of your influence,
 in procuring a law to pass, establish-
 ing a solid security for such sums of
 money as they should lend out, by
 making the debt a lien upon the
 lands of borrower; a law, which no-
 thing but a most blind, or cruel po-
 licy could refuse them; notwith-
 standing the finesse of ordering a ma-
 jority of the lower House to vote for
 the bill, they, I say, are well con-
 vinced, that your private mandate
 was issued to the whole bench of
 B—— (except the Bishop of Corke,
 whom, for certain reasons, you
 would not trust with the secret) to
 oppose the bill in the House of
 Lords, where it was accordingly
 thrown out: so that within the pale
 of either religion, you have not one
 man

man at your side, who is not a hireling, whilst you have enemies without number. Scotland is not the only country which furnishes France with renegadoes; Ireland is compelled, unhappily to furnish her quota; they detest their oppressors, and you, my Lord, as the principal; nor is it impossible but some one of these renegadoes, may, from a sense of the miseries, which his country suffers, perform upon you, what Forbes had attempted upon Mr. Wilkes; the attempt of Forbes had, indeed, a surer hope of reward, for your Lordship hath carefully provided for him in the service of Portugal, where he is at this moment a Lieutenant Colonel.

Lord Hallifax is a more recent instance, of your assiduity in placing your spies; he was invited, he was intreated to succeed Lord Weymouth; who, upon the apprehension of a Spanish war had abandoned his post;

post; he had the northern department and very naturally desired to have his old friend Mr. Lovell Stanhope for his commis; but this was too great a favour for the man who had made such a sacrifice of his good fame to your inclinations, by issuing general warrants, *perish the remembrance of such services*; however, he insisted upon his demand with so much warmth, that *the* — himself was obliged to come forward.—Mr. Frazer, an obscure person, was continued in the place, and Mr. Stanhope was pensioned out of the office. Although his Lordship submitted, yet he never forgave the indignity; and being well acquainted with the Butean system of placing spies round every ostensible man in office, he never acted in his department. Had this Mr. Frazer been one of that family, which distinguished itself in the last rebellion against his Majesty's grandfather,

father,

father, this confidential preference to Mr. Stanhope could not have surprised us ; but it is doubtful whether he hath even the merit of being a Scotchman ; therefore nothing embarrasses your Lordship so much as the disposal of places, not by a scarcity of those who are eager to receive them, but by a difficulty of discovering amongst the mercenaries (for it would be too barefaced to give all to your prætorians) those who are the most passive and obedient.

However, the process, by which the public business is done, my Lord, is as follows ; by the prætorians, in actual possession of employments, and by your spies, eternally surrounding the mercenaries, who are only nominally in office, every information is brought immediately to the — every minute transaction is faithfully reported to him, who submits it directly to your consideration, or in
you

your absence, to the consideration of his Mother and your faithful junto: these, forthwith, work it up into whatever shape you wish to have it appear in before *the* council; where a majority of your tools are ready to pass such resolutions, as are strictly correspondent with those before taken; and it wants nothing but the sanction of parliament: then whether it be an inadequate *satisfaction* for national injuries or affronts by the Spaniards, the persecution of a printer, the unjust expulsion of some offensive friend of the people, or stripping some obnoxious nobleman of his property, in order to gratify some person in close connexion with your Lordship, it never fails to receive the grand fiat of corruption: This is undoubtedly the progress of national business, and because your Lordship (lest you should rouse the people to madness, by insulting them with your presence)

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hath chosen to reside, for the most part abroad, dictating to your junto, and that junto to the —, you would have him deceive himself, and his subjects, into a persuasion, that he forsooth is his own minster. Had we, my Lord, a chief magistrate of that disposition you would have us suppose, of dignity competent to the protection of the laws, no invading power would have dared to usurp that execution of them, which constitutionally belongs to him; none dared to have suspended their execution; none to have obstructed the course of justice. His magnanimity would have prevented even the attempt; his prudence would have foreseen, that such an impudent usurpation, however it may gratify his resentments for a moment, may at some future time, be the means of driving his posterity from their rights, and of destroying the monarchy. It

is true, that so long as you can keep our foreign enemies at peace, you will be able to find men enough, who, for the bare emolument, will suffer their names to be made use of, in filling up the niches of office, whilst your spies and underlings perform its real duties, and exercise all its powers. It is a luxurious, and therefore, a venal age, my Lord; meanness and sensuality characterize our nobility and gentry. They will receive your money, or rather, the money of the public, most willingly. Those who laugh at every notion of honesty and patriotism, will undoubtedly laugh at you; and should the tide of Favouritism once forsake you, they will be found more eager to bring your neck to the block, as the *great atonement for all their own sins*, than those who openly oppose you. You may meet more mercy in the lion-paws of a Chatham, than in the false

soothings of that hyæna G——; self-knowledge should have warned you of the great danger in the *smiling, pliant, insinuating foe*. Such men, I say, will never be wanting; but there will be wanting wisdom and sagacity, to find out the real interests of the nation; there will be wanting harmony amongst the people; and above all, there will be wanting respect for the crown; by which wants, the nerves of government will be relaxed, and the whole body politic rendered weak and paralytic.—But what would have been your wretched condition in case of a war? what, if your best friends, the French, had not saved you from the fury of the enraged Spaniard? the D— of G—, who pretends to be blessed with a truly telescopic eye, had withdrawn, from the state, because, after the unhappy suicide of Mr. —, there was no Lord Chancellor. Ill-

fated

fated Y—— ! he was born, my Lord, with that delicacy of feeling, which would have killed him, by the bare consciousness of acting basely or dishonourably, but trained up in a hardening profession, remorse had lost its keenness.—Tremble at such murders, my Lord, and remember the great day of account. L— W——h shrunk from the expected rupture with Spain; and such was the distress, confusion, and trepidation of your fluttering ministers, that it was every where apprehended Lord Chatham must be called in to their relief. This was terrible to L—B—I, who dreading the thunder of his resentment, whom he had scandalously deserted, threw down the privy seal, and took refuge in the royal bedchamber. The privy seal thus abandoned, L—S—k, with eyes still streaming for the loss of his dear friend Mr. G——, (shame—

(shameful hypocrisy!) accepted it: and afterwards, as if this instance of apostasy was not sufficient to mark his character, he quitted that office of high rank in the state, to make room for the D— of G—, against whose conduct, when minister, he had solemnly protested; and took the seals of Secretary of State, without the knowledge, I had almost said, of any one language, either antient or modern. His Grace of G—, is said to have first desired to be at the head of the admiralty, an office, which must be for ever under the Treasury, and by which, L— N— would immediately become his superior; but L— S— the fittest man in the world for conducting all the mean drudgery in those boroughs, which the admiralty hath usurped, could not be turned out; so Lord North by means of Mr. Bradshaw, opened a negotiations

negotiation with his Grace, who took the office of privy seal, without a seat in the cabinet. To such meanness will men stoop, who have once strayed from the paths of honour; jostled after this disrespectful manner, into and out of office, nothing but inspiration can give them a tolerable knowledge of the duties of their employments; nor can any thing be more clear than your withholding from them all confidence; otherwise, they could not be frightened out of their places at the bare sound of war, at a time, when you had determined there should be no war. Such are the men whom you make use of as your tools, as your sport, resolved, we must suppose, that Mr. Wilkes is to be the object of ministerial concern, through an entire reign, and nothing but the persecution of him, attended to, until he is either starved or assassinated.

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To make such men as those, to whom you have consigned the charge of the British empire a subject of my pen, is to write an history of insects, I will admit; nor should their names have blotted my page, were it not for the necessity of marking them out to the public; their mischiefs have entitled them to our notice. Would any thing but your Lordship's political omnipotence have raised Messrs. Jenkinson, Dyson, Bradshaw, &c. to the honourable rank of spies, upon the conduct of those whom you have occasionally appointed to the responsible offices of the nation? How fallen is the dignity of the Commons of England! how fallen the spirit of the gentry and freeholders of the county of Westmoreland, when Sir James Lowther presumes to force his servant, the son of a tallow-chandler, upon them

them as their representative? to return such a man even for Old Sarum, would disgrace it; yet he never will come up to the smartness, or activity of Mr. Bradshaw. He who could mistake Benjamin Smyth, not under the influence of Alderman Harley, for one of that name under his influence; Benjamin Smyth living in one street, for Benjamin Smyth living in another; will not answer your Lordship's expectations. There must be either incapacity, or inattention in the case, and neither will answer the end, where so bad a cause is to be managed. The confidence placed in these gentlemen, must certainly engage their most firm loyalty, and warmest affection for your royal master; their friendship you have secured to him, as the bright ornaments of his reign and the immovable bulwarks of his throne. They are

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ever employed; no dismissal suffered to sour their tempers: whilst Hallifax, Grafton, Sandwich, and names of more respect are shifted in and out, backwards and forwards, in a manner no less arbitrary than surprizing. From the well known humility of Lord North, I had pictured to myself hopeful prospects of his being long continued first Lord of the Treasury; but they were overcast for a short time; he having upon the late dispute with the City, when the *little cabinet* were in consultation how to act, given very alarming symptoms of entertaining an opinion of his own; in actually agreeing to the Speaker's original proposal of appointing a committee to enquire, &c. However, he was soon reduced to his primitive insignificant state, Dyson, Elliot, and the rest, objected to the proposal, for its want of vigour, of spirit, and the first Lord of the Treasury.

fury, over-ruled and mortified, patiently submitted, declaring, *that the gentlemen might do as they pleased, he would acquiesce, in whatever the majority resolved.* They then determined to commit the Lord Mayor. This was some days before the matter was formally moved in parliament.

Another proof that Lord North is but a cypher, may be drawn from the fate of *his own cousin*, Lieut. Colonel Burgoyne, for whom he obtained *two* promises, but had the mortification to find both them and himself equally disregarded. The circumstances are curious; therefore I will relate them. Upon a rumour some time ago of Mr. Walpole's death, who was Lieutenant Colonel of the 18th regiment of Dragoons in Ireland, Lord North asked the commission for *his cousin* Colonel Burgoyne, and had a promise of it; but the report of Mr. Walpole's death proving groundless, the

the affair went off. Some time after Mr. Walpole really died, and Lord North sent over an official letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the usual form, desiring he would recommend Colonel Burgoyne; but *somebody* told the — that the commission ought to be given to Major Lyons; it was done so accordingly; and when the first Lord of the Treasury complained of this over-ruling influence he was told *that he could not expect* *should keep a promise made a twelvemonth ago.* The other instance happened but a few days ago. Upon the late promotion of Lord Ancram, Lord North asked the vacant commission in the Irish regiment for Lieutenant Colonel Burgoyne; and we know, that his Lordship went out of town in full confidence that his Cousin was to have it. Yet it was given to Lieutenant Colonel Smith. — So that however more ostensible Lord North would wish to have the

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the world believe him, however more independent and self-sufficient to the duties of a minister, he would wish to appear than his predecessors; he, in truth, labours under the most absolute controul of your Lordship's little junto, who, whenever he would enlarge his range, drag him back immediately within the small circle, which your Lordship, the grand magician, hath thought proper to allow him.

You have, my Lord, by this fine wrought scheme of rule, shewn the English nobility and gentry how sincerely they are despised, how little regard is paid to their affection for government; and they, my Lord, in return bear to that government a rivetted detestation; nay their prejudices are, I fear, extended to and may reach his innocent posterity. These men whom you see spurned at, and scornfully treated by your underlings, will never forgive. Although bred

bred up at the feet of so able a master as your Lordship, they have indeed the address to dissemble, until opportunity shall bring things to such a ripeness, that little or no hazard can attend their designs: and be assured that the discontents of the whole kingdom are operating powerfully for their purposes. The misconduct of James I. impressed such hatred in his people's hearts, of his person, his name, his family, and even his country, that nothing could make them easy until they were expelled; and the name of a Scotchman was more odious to the English by his means, than it had been in the times of the Plantagenets and Tudors, when the two nations met each other almost every year in open hostility. The acceptance of place or pension is no proof of their sincerity to you; if places and pensions are to be disposed of, why should not they
 receive

receive a part of their country's plunder, which you, perhaps, would bestow on persons more unworthy. They will continue, my Lord, to accept your favours until the very moment they compleat your ruin : “ a livery-
 “ man of the city, who upon the late
 “ election of sheriffs, was brought
 “ up from Coventry to vote against
 “ Wilkes, had been well entertained
 “ upon the road, and roundly bribed
 “ into the bargain ; but when arrived
 “ at the Hustings, to the great sur-
 “ of his keepers, he voted for the
 “ Patriot ; he was then asked, *why he*
 “ *would travel at the expence of the*
 “ *court, when determined to vote a-*
 “ *gainst it?* and he replied, like an old
 “ soldier, that it was always his max-
 “ im—*to quarter upon the enemy*”—
 de te fabula narratur.

The dear bought loyalty, my Lord,
 of Messrs. Elliot, Dyson, Jenkinson,
 Welbore Ellis, and Tommy Brad-
 shaw,

Shaw, is a poor compensation, for the loss ~~it~~ sustains from the smothered resentment of the nobility and gentry, and from the avowed dissatisfaction of the people—A bad return, my Lord, to that indulgent master, who raised you from an abject obscurity. Through a predilection, fatal and misjudged, he gave you all his confidence and affection, you have robbed him of the confidence and affection of his people; and you have led him into a maze of error, from which the most consummate wisdom would now be scarce able to disengage him.

You rely, my Lord, upon a corrupt parliament, and would support your Domination by the *forms* of a constitution, by the authority of that branch of legislature, once so revered in this country. The House of Commons is no longer the Kind Protectress of the people, but the instrument

strument of slavery and persecution, in the hands of a minister. It was against the power of the crown that the privilege of parliament was intended to be our guard, not to be exercised against the people; for it was absurd to suppose, that they would ever violate their own rights, in those of their representatives. To pursue without molestation, the interest of their constituents, was formerly the utmost ambition of the House of Commons; no corrective, no inquisitorial powers, did they pretend or desire; but privilege of parliament is now become a two-edged sword; *cutting* always in favour of administration; and is surrendered, or is maintained, just as it best shall answer the purposes of despotism.

When you had set on the deluded woman at Carlton House, to destroy Mr. Wilkes, although his case was neither that of treason, felony, or

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breach of peace, privilege of parliament was trampled upon; and the Resolutions of the House of Commons compared, by the well-bred Sir Fletcher Norton, to the oaths of a parcel of drunken porters. But when privilege of parliament is to be employed in the dirty work of a minister, in the punishment of Printers, in feloniously erasing a judicial record; when any unconstitutional outrage was to be committed, by an exertion of privilege, then it becomes powerful beyond measure, and is wound up to its highest and most tyrannical pitch. This sporting with parliaments, which is universally known, has rendered them contemptible to the people; therefore, upon such rotten buttresses it is ridiculous to recline; they form too slight a rest for so heavy a delinquent as your Lordship; your load of accumulated

mulated crimes for ten years will overturn them with its weight.

Will not the sense of an injured people, expressed by every mark of indignation, except actual insurrection, at length convince you that they do not consider themselves as duly represented in parliament? do you not see that they only wait, untill by frequently remonstrating they have discharged the redundancy of duty? do you not see them look up to the man, whom this parliament, and the preceding one have made illustrious, by his unjust sufferings, with a degree of adoration? were they not ready upon the late election in the city, to tear in pieces, merely for being suspected of having veered a single point to the court, those very men, who but one month before, enjoyed their highest confidence? can you not perceive the dangerous sagacity of this *scum of*

the earth, in discerning the smallest speck of defection in Townsend and Oliver; how even the embrio of an enemy cannot escape their observation? hath it not been clear to them, as demonstration, that neither the poverty, vanity, extravagance nor profligacy of Mr. Wilkes hath caused the desertion of his aldermanic friends, as they pretend; but a distinct foreknowledge, that connections with him must shut the gates of St. James's for ever against them; as he is one of the very few persons, whose irreconcilability with your Lordship, and intrepidity in his country's defence, can promise an entire redress of grievances, and a thorough reformation of our constitution, in those material articles of short parliaments, a place bill, and an adequate, fair-proportioned representation of the people. If these circumstantial truths will not undeceive you,

you, I, for my part, must leave you, to be instructed by those dreadful calamities, which you are likely to bring upon your K— and country.

The glory, the infamy, the happiness or the misery of people under an absolute government, depend entirely upon the merit, or upon the unworthiness of their kings; but in such a government as ours, although trades and professions require a certain fitness of the man to the occasion, yet, any person who is not a meer driveller, of a most malignant nature, or unless wonderfully vitiated by a bad education, will make a very tolerable king; a purity of heart much below strict virtue, and parts inferior even to mediocrity will suffice; in short, an English King may be made out of as humble materials as were the Heathen Gods of old, where the workman, upon examining his log, hath been often puzzled, whether

whether he should *square it into a bench, or form it into a deity*; for what hath a king to do? no more, my Lord, than to refrain from mischief. As we ask neither edicts nor proclamations from him, the laws, unless diverted by his judges from their natural course, will preserve order through the whole internal range of the Empire; and a Parliament, unless debauched by his minister, will guard us against all danger from abroad. He is therefore less excusable, when he errs, as so little is expected from him; and since kings are cast upon us by the blind rules of inheritance, which are seldom known to make any distinction in favour of merit, it is very well so little is expected from them. The constant complaints of millions of his Majesty's subjects, prove beyond a power of refutation that many and gross errors have been committed in
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the executory departments of the state; and that your Lordship's influence hath furnished great occasion for these complaints is universally admitted. No man will say, nor conceive that our was of that original villainess of heart, nor so poorly endowed, as to stand totally disqualified from discharging the easy and unfatiguing duties of his office, to the satisfaction, though perhaps, not the admiration of his subjects: so that we are to seek for the fountain of the nation's miseries in his education. And here, my Lord, we bring the whole charge home against you, loaded with the double aggravation, of having not only given evil counsel to your , but of having artfully and traiterously prepared his mind to receive it.

Born in the very lap of liberty, had he been fostered as the child of liberty ought to have been; a child who

who owed his royalty of existence to the creation of a free people, he would have been both the blessing and delight of that people. The descendant of a family put into possession of a contested fair estate, by an attournment of tenants who hoped to be happy under so favoured a race, he never would have given the sanction of his name and authority to harass them, nor suffered his good fame to be tarnished by imputations of severity and ingratitude, were it not for your contrivance; you stole into his unguarded mind, my Lord, like a wolf into the innocent fold, where, by your infernal precepts you have made the most dreadful and horrid devastations. His weakness you have reared into f—y, his faults into v—s; and plucking up the plants of virtue the moment they appeared, you have sown in their place, the seeds of in—de to his friends, and c—pt for his people.

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We impute to your Lordship, the peevish answer which was given to the City's last Remonstrance; it was the first fruits of your visit; it carries a face of triumph over the people's wishes at present, but will have effects, not altogether so pleasing. The uncorrupt and undeluded part of the nation have gathered from thence, that every dutiful attempt, grounded upon any confidence in the affection of their sovereign, to gain a constitutional redress, by laying their grievances at the foot of the throne, in that proud, unaffailable posture where the minister now stands, is vain; since the accumulated injuries of a people for ten tedious years, are looked upon by the *best of Princes* as matters of mere indifference, against which there is no reasonable ground for bringing any complaint, they must at length cease to importune their king, until change of circum-

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stances shall afford them better prospect of success; they are convinced, that in either House of Parliament, except some few virtuous men, the constitution hath not one friend; and that, had their wishes for a dissolution been answered, the people would not have been the electors. You, my Lord, have been long employed in digesting your plan, and have cemented the confederacy, with all the binding materials which avarice, vanity, or dissipation could furnish: they on the contrary having no dishonest object, nothing in meditation but a peaceable enjoyment of their rights, which they flattered themselves with being secure of, under a family, whom they had loaded with obligations, unsuspecting and unprepared, feel their inability to withstand you, and are therefore resolved to sit down deliberately and to form in their turn a *regular plan of defence*; system, my Lord, must

must be opposed to system, the consolidated good sense, and resolution of the nation, to the artful machinations of a few sycophants, whose strength lies in their own cunning and in the vices and follies of others.

The election of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Bull to the shirevalty, hath proved to our general satisfaction, that there is a virtue still remaining amongst the people, sufficient to release this kingdom from your Lordship's thralldom, provided it be judiciously exerted; its seeds are sown thickly throughout the whole British empire; the spirit of constitutional independence glows in the bosom of nineteen out of twenty at least, and had it a free passage, would shine forth every where with a lustre equal to that of the livery of London; in this age of refined luxury, the man of great wealth or title finds himself wretched, unless to the en-

joyments arising out of the labour,
 industry and ingenuity of his fellow-
 subjects, he can add the exquisite grati-
 fication of making that fellow-sub-
 ject his slave; the freedom of his
 mind must be also invaded, man's
 right to think for himself must be
 suppressed, and to this unnatural pur-
 pose, every superiority which fortune
 hath bestowed, is now applied; by
 the distressing delays and vexation of
 perverted law, always lying within
 the power of gold, some are tor-
 mented, and others terrified into
 submission; by the fear of being de-
 prived of liberty, perhaps of property,
 dear to himself, but much more en-
 deared by the considerations of a fami-
 ly, dependent upon him for existence,
 the manly feelings of the heart are over-
 born; one is obliged to suffer in si-
 lence, another, and another, nor can
 they, thus singly and unsupported,
 bear up against the load of oppressi-
 on;

on; combinations even upon an honest principle of self-defence, are seldom found amongst these open, undefining ranks of mankind; the parts are destroyed by watchful malice before the whole frame can be put together, and when they are put together, it is difficult to hold them so; the combining powers of vice, are much stronger than those of virtue, which is generally ruined by too much confidence and self-sufficiency; for were it otherwise, the greater part of the human species would not be, as at present, in servitude to a few of the least worthy in all communities, were it otherwise, there would be an universal clamour and resistance, through this and every country upon earth.

However, the Society of the Bill of Rights, instituted for the protection of such as are persecuted for *righteousness sake*, will, unless I am deceived,

ed, supply that asylum of freedom, whose want we have long lamented; all it has been hitherto able, was to conquer the enemies of the constitution within the city of London, in that *cradle of liberty*, like an *infant Hercules*, it hath strangled the serpents, giving thereby a most hopeful earnest of crushing hereafter, the direful *Hydra of corruption*; the opulence of the citizens, their virtue, together with the just contempt, which they have for the most part entertained of a court, whose weakness or wickedness were under their immediate observation, hath made them a political sensorium to the rest of their fellow-subjects; the city of London, my Lord, is the central point to which all the lines of liberty, drawn from every part of the circumference of the British empire tend, or ought to tend; the Aldermen indeed, as vanity will be for ever starting from its sphere, and

and drawing comparisons to its advantage, have affected of late years, to look upon themselves as the Privy Council of the city, and have been hourly languishing for a closer connexion with their brethren about St. James's; but their endeavours to enslave their fellow citizens have proved fruitless, because if any man gives offence here, by his boldness in the cause of liberty, he is not exposed to ill-treatment and oppression, as in parts remote from the capital, but is cherished, comforted and relieved by his undaunted neighbours, that relief was formerly accidental, the Society of the Bill of Rights hath rendered it systematic, and will, as it gains strength, communicate its relief and support more universally; you will, my Lord, soon behold an inhabitant of Liverpool, Bristol, Exeter, York, Dublin, Cork, Boston, Philadelphia, avowing his political principle,

principle, with as little disguise, as
 the most intrepid of the glorious Li-
 very; if attacked by a neighbouring
 Lord or Commoner, you will per-
 ceive the utmost exertion of law in
 his defence, without any hazard of
 ruining his family: this relief will
 be carried farther, even to every sub-
 ordinate place in the several coun-
 ties, to Manchester, Preston, Barn-
 staple, Tiverton, &c. which are all
 to look up to their respective county
 town for support and direction, as
 they do to London; this, once be-
 coming general, you will behold,
 no doubt with much pleasure, the
 most grand and extensive association
 that ever was formed in the cause of
 any constitution; and the restraint
 of fear being removed, you will then
 be able to judge with clearness, whe-
 ther a majority of the whole king-
 dom, as well as the city of London,

are

are not the confirmed enemies of your Lordship's domination.

When I speak of a grand association, I do not draw my idea of grandeur, from great wealth, or from glittering title; personal merit is all that is required; the more parliamentary dependants a peer can create, the more eagerly a court will bid for him, and the more likely, for that reason, is he to betray the public cause.

You may, from hence, conceive a notion of the engine which will be placed in opposition to yours, in order to retard your approaches; it hath many advantages over yours, but the principal one is that of *spontaneity*, it is worked by the free will of twelve millions of people, yours, my Lord, by the constrained mechanical powers of gold.

And now, my Lord, suffer me to address you in the familiar admonitory

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nitary style ; it is said, that your merit, in the private walks of life, is very great ; that your mind is enlightened and adorned, your friendships inviolate : although the much abused confidence of your Sovereign furnishes powerful reasons against giving you credit for these imputed virtues, the account may, nevertheless, be just ; the worth of man, however, must be estimated by the good, he either doth, or would do if possessed of power, for the community he belongs to ; so that he *whose private virtues* are not spoken of, but who hath at the same time, much public virtue or spirit, is upon the whole, a better man than he who is a Saint in private, but wants those extensive feelings, which comprehend a general good. Benevolence is the word best expressing that disposition of the heart, which expands the good affections, and will not be confined

fined to individuals. Allowing you then these private virtues, your mind perhaps might have been unequal to the first shocks of ambition, and your judgment hitherto defective; but surely the perception of former errors, the daily lessons of a people, reluctant with slavery, pouring forth their complaints, may bring even a depraved understanding to a sense of what is right, and why should we despair to see your Lordship varying your conduct, and to the astonishment of mankind stepping forth both the Favourite and the Patriot. Sylla, by one glorious self-forbidding act of Renunciation, attoned, in a great measure, for the many enormities of his tyranny: he had the thanks of his countrymen for a resolution, which displayed a most unexampled magnanimity, and passed the remainder of his days, quiet and unmolested, except by the stu-

pid insult of a single wretch, who *had been one of his party when in power*; but we do not expect from you an act, to which Roman virtue alone was equal. Relinquish the dangerous and wicked project of changing the constitution of the kingdom, and direct your influence over his — to the real interests of the nation; you will then become popular and respected, be glorious and beloved, and the remembrance of what we have hitherto endured, will be lost in that happiness we shall feel, when peace and unanimity are restored. Banish from the royal presence those ignorant and impotent juntos, who now occupy the secret and ostensible powers of the state. They are pursued by the hatred, and persecuted by the derision of the people. Notoriously unequal to the offices they have insolently usurped, they are daily and hourly sacrificing
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the dignity, and the honour of the nation—sometimes to their own jealousies—sometimes by the most egregious blunders—and so sure as they meddle with any public business, by their utter ignorance of all public affairs.

The fair face of opportunity now smiles upon you, dissolve the parliament, my Lord; the affections of the nation, ensured by so grateful an act of popularity, will establish a powerful majority in the next; and instead of feeling themselves obliged to any proud self-interested connexion, his Majesty will receive the entire applause, you, the home-felt joy of having freed your country from distraction. It is also in your power to give the strongest proofs of generous patriotism, by granting to the opposition all their reasonable demands. You will have the people
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on your side without expence of place
or pension.

In this situation you cannot avoid
surveying the venerable Patriot, in
fullen Majesty, keeping himself aloof
from faction, despising every other
connexion but that with the people,
his views great and honest, his wis-
dom unequalled, and his honour un-
sullied; if you would awe our enemies
into peace, his name will probably
be sufficient, when placed where his
merit demands; but if we should be
insulted into the necessity of a war,
who so fit to be the minister of na-
tional vengeance upon a perfidious
foe?

To plead your want of power to
effect these salutary ends, would be
to trifle with our senses; we feel, we
see your power; you was immedi-
ately upon your arrival in England,
waited upon by the Lords *Barrington*,
and *Clare*, and Messrs. *Ellis* and *Stan-*
ley, &c,

ley, &c. who all hurried up to town the moment you came; Mr. *Jenkinson* and his division were there, ready to receive your commands. My Lord, you have all the private appendages of power, and we know it.

I am, MY LORD,

Your obedient Servant,
